VOLUME XVII.

CITY OF RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 4, 1850.

THE NORTH CAROLINA STANDARD IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND SEMI-WEEKLY, BY WILLIAM W. HOLDEN, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

TERMS OF THE WEEKLY. Two dollars per annum, in advance, or within the first month; Two dollars and fifty cents, if payment be delayed six months; and Three Dollars, if not paid within six months from the time of

TERMS OF THE SEMI-WEEKLY. Four dollars per There of the Strange was elected annum, in sidvance, or within the first month; Four dollars and fifty cents, if payment be delayed six months; and five Dollars, if not paid within six months from the Jr. Esq., of Orange, Solicitor for the 4th Circuit; time of subscribing.
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THE WEEKLY STANDARD

The Constitution and the Union of the States "They must be Preserved."

RALEIGH:

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1850.

GOV. MANLY'S MESSAGE. Gov. Manly "blows hot and cold" in his late Message on the Slavery question. He commends the so-called Compromise to our " willing and hearty support" in one breath, and in the next he talks vaguely about our " rights "-says " these will never be surrendered "-and that " we take our stand in the ranks of Southern destiny." What else, pray, if the worst should happen, could we do? Could we join "the ranks" of Northern "destiny"? Is that a supposable case 1

We can neither " willingly " nor " heartily " support this so-called Compromise. It is enough for the people of this State, who have gained nothing by it, to acquiesce in it as the law of the land. It circumscribes Slavery, abolishes the slave-trade in the District, organizes Territorial governments only on former principles, and takes from Texas, for a consideration, millions of acres of slave soil. We have got, it is true, the fugitive-slave law; but the Constitution gave us that before, and so we have gained nothing on this score. Gov. Manly seems to think that the whole question has been "adjusted," and that we are now to have peace; but whence comes this repose, and when? Are not the elements more fiery and ungovernable now than heretofore? Has not this boasted measure, instead of securing harmony and reviving brotherly affection, increased dissatisfaction in both sections and aroused still stronger passions? And wherefore? Because it was unjust to one great section, which has never assailed the rights of the other; and because the section which has gained every thing and lost nothing by the bargain, is now unwilling, as a part of the bargain, to

perform its plain duty under the common Constitution. Gov. Manly, it seems, could not allude to this question without denouncing Southern "factionists and agitators," and making a covert attack on South Carolina. It is obvious that he considers such statesmen as Clingman, Shepard, and Venable, who insist upon our rights, as among these " factionists"; and he calls upon the "sons of freedom" to combine to fined to some particular section of the country "passive and the North active; and that they are the "factionists" and "agitators" on this question. cept from "a body of fanatics contemptible for numbers and respectability "; and he is greatly shocked at the "spectacle" of a "sacred" alliance-nay, more than that-a Consitutional national Union of a noble people in peril of being dissevered and broken up by gangs of rapaway negroes, and their crazy allies." Now the Governor either knows nothing about our assailants or their number in the free States, or, like the National Intelligeneer, he would conceal the facts, for party purposes, from the people of his State. Does he not know that nearly every free State has instructed its Representatives to vote against the further extension of Slavery ! And does he not feel, as a southern man, that to circumseribe slavery is to destroy many of the free States have instructed their Representatives to vote to abolish the institution in the District? And has he,as the Governor of a sovereign State, yet to learn, that nearly every free State has passed laws forbidding the use of their jails to the

the watchtower of the "sons of freedom"! By the way, has the Governor ever heard of a certhe last individual to talk of "factionists" and "agi- midst by Cadmus to make them turn their arms against

We learn that at the late Term of the Federal Court held in this City, the young man from Granville by the name of Burge, who submitted on a charge of robbing the Mail, was sentenced to ten year's imprisonment. Much sympathy was expressed in this case, and the hope is indulged by the young man's friends that after a time he will be pardoned by the President.

The case of Thomas Harvey, of Newbern, charged also with robbing the Mail, was postponed to the next Term of the Court,

THE LEGISLATURE.

We refer to our columns to-day for a sketch of the very animated debate in the Commons on Tuesday, which grew out of the proposition of Mr. Sherard, of Wayne, to repeal the charter of the North Carolina Rail Road. The proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority. We did not hear the whole of the debate, but our Reporter has endeavored to do justice to all the gentlemen who participated in it.

and George S. Stevenson, Esq., of Craven, for the 2nd Circuit. These are all capital appointments. We have spoken elsewhere of that of Judge Strange. Mr. Jones has been restored to the place from which he was proscribed by the Whigs, to make room for Mr. Poindexter, who now goes out, according to the those who advertise by the year. Advertisements inserted in the Semi-Weekly Standard, will also appear in any Whig who may fail to be re-elected, should com-" fortunes of war." If his friends, or the friends of plain, let them remember that the Whig leaders promised not to remove Democrats for opinion's sake, and then did it, just as if no such promise had been made. Let these gentlemen, we repeat, consider of that.

We have no doubt that both Mr. Jones and Mr. Stevenson will discharge their important duties in the most faithful and creditable manner. They are well qualified, in every respect, for the posts to which they have been called.

In the Senate, on Thursday, Col. Joyner introduced Resolutions on Slavery, which were read and referred to the joint committee of eighteen; and in the Commons Mr. Walton introduced Resolutions on the same subject, which were referred to the same committee.

MR. SHEPARD'S SPEECH.

The Hon. William B. Shepard delivered a most powerful and conclusive Speech in the Senate, on Wednesday last, on the Slavery question. On all the points embraced in his Resolutions, and in relation to the course it becomes North Carolina to adopt in this emergency, he was alike clear, emphatic, and eloquent. Ie showed, by statistics and calculations, the inevitable result to the slave States of the late action of Congress circumscribing Slavery; and he denounced the so-called Compromise, so much lauded in certain quarters, in the strongest terms. He said that division among ourselves on this question had well nigh undone us; and he appealed to every true son of North Carolina, without respect to party, to rally now to avert impending calamities. He also examined Mr. Badger's doctrine of allegiance, and demonstrated its mingled absurdity and enormity.

It was the Speech of a statesman.

We shall not attempt any thing like a report of it, as Mr. Shepard has promised to write it out for the

LETTER FROM JAMES BUCHANAN.

The letter of James Buchanan to the Union Meeting at Philadelphia, which we publish below, sheds additional lustre upon his honored name. He is as sound on this vital question as we could desire him to be; and we thank him from our heart for the justice he does in this great letter to the Southern people. We hope his solemn admonitions to the Northern people will incline them to sounder and hetter views of this question; and that ultimately concord and harmony may be restored to the whole Confederacy. We say we hope this-we should be sure of it, if all the public men of the free States were like James Buch-

anan. The following is his letter, dated WHEATLAND, (near Lancaster, Penn.,))

November 19, 1850. GENTLEMEN: I have been honored by the receipt of your very kind invitation, "in behalf of the friends "conneract" the spirit of disunion, " heretofore conof party, resident in the city and county of Philadel-phia," to attend a public meeting, to be held on the meaning South Carolina. The Governor appears to 21st instant, at the Chinese Museum. I regret that forget that all this time we of the South have been engagements, which I need not specify, will deprive me of the pleasure and the privilege of uniting with the great, patriotic and enlightened community of your city and county in manifesting their attachment for He perceives no very great danger in the North ex- the constitution and the Union, in the present alarm-

ing crisis in our public affairs. On a recent occasion, at the celebration of the opening of the eastern portion of our great central railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, I said that the cordial support of that magnificent improvement was a platform on which all Pennsylvania, of every political denomination, could stand together in harmony. The sentiment elicited an enthusiastic response from all present, whether democrats or whice. I

now say that the platform of our blessed Union is strong enough and broad enough to sustain all truehearted Americans. It is an elevated, a glorious platform, on which the down-trodden nations of the earth gaze with hope and desire, with admiration and astonishment. Our Union is a star in the West. whose genial and steadily increasing influence will, at last, should we remain a united people, dispel the if and us in the end? And does he not know, also, that gloom of despotism from the ancient nations of the world. Its moral power will prove to be more potent than millions of armed mercenaries. And shall this glorious star set in darkness before it has accomplished half its mission ! Heaven forbid! Let us all exclaim with the heroic Jackson, "The Union

must and shall be preserved." And what a Union this has been! The history of masters of fugitive slaves, and imposing heavy penal- the human race presents no parallel to it. The bit ties on their officers if they even lift a finger to aid of striped bunting, which was to be swiftly swept these masters in their efforts to recover their properprediction of a British statesman previous to the war ty? Does he not know that Horace Mann has tri-amphed over Daniel Webster in Massachusetts, and port of the habitable globe. Our glorious stars and that Sewardism has swept the "Empire State"? Is stripes—the flag of our country, -now protect Amerihe so blind as not to see that thus far the fugitive- cans in every elime. "I am a Roman citizen!" was once the proud exclamation which everywhere shieldslave law is inoperative and a dead letter? And yet ed the ancient Roman from insult and injustice. in view of all these facts Gov. Manly utters hallelu- am an American citizen !" is now an exclamation of jahs to the so-called Compromise, and leaves the ir. almost equal potency throughout the civilized world This is a tribute due to the power and the resources ference on the minds of the people, by his language of these thirty-one united States. In a just cause we and mode of treating the subject, that the Union is may defy the world in arms. We have lately prein peril only from "gangs of runaway negroes and sented a spectacle which has astonished even the their crazy allies "! A pretty sentinel, truly, upon the watchtower of the "sons of freedom"! greatest captain of the age. At the call of their country, an irresistible host of armed men, and men, too, skilled in the use of arms, sprung up like the soldiers of Cadmus, from the mountains and valleys of our tain "factionist" and "agitator," who, in order to get enough votes to re-elect him to a certain office, came out in one of his campaigns and sought to array one portion of his State against the other on this campaigns of a foreign war in defence of their country's tions of a foreign war in defence of their country's one portion of his State against the other on this very rights. Heaven forbid that the question of slavery question, and then denied it? Gov. Manly should be should ever prove to be the stone thrown into their

each other and perish in mutual conflict!

Whilst our power as a united people secures us against the injustice and assaults of foreign enemies, what has been our condition at home ! Here every citizen stands erect in the proud proportions bestowed upon him by his Maker, and feels himself equal to his fellow-men. He is protected by a government of just laws in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; he sits down under his own vine and his own fig tree, and there is none to make him afraid. A vast confederacy composed of thirty-one sovereign and independent States is open before him, in which he feels himself to be everywhere at home, and may anywhere through ... its extended limits seek his own prosperity and happiness in his own way. The

the distant port of San Francisco, on the other side public opinion. of the world.

southern States fit them for such an employment, the slender majority of only twenty-six votes. They are naturally the producers, whilst the northern people are the carriers. This establishes a mutual assembled. That body at first presented the appear and profitable dependence upon each other, which is ance of a Polish Diet, divided into hostile parties. one of the strongest bonds of our Union.

past, the prosperity of the present, and the brilliant hopes of the future, must impress every patriotic heart brethren in promoting the common good of the whole with deep love and devotion for the Union. Who that is now a citizen of this vast republic, extending from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, does not shudder at the idea of being transformed into a citizen of one of its riot would not rather shed the last drop of his blood than see the thirty-one brilliant stars which now float most if not all of the slaveholding States. proudly upon our country's flag, amid the battle and the breeze, rudely torn from the national banner, and wealth, rightly denominated the "Keystone of the scattered in confusion over the face of the earth?

Arch," that the first ray of light emanated to dispel

ry true-hearted Pennsylvanian, in favor of the Union their gallant deeds? And when, in our history, have their gallant deeds? And when, in our history, have nently to act as the just and equitable umpire between they ever shrunk from sacrifices and sufferings in the the extremes. cause of their country ? What, then, means the muttering thunder which we hear from the South? The signs of the times are truly portentous. Whilst many in the South openly advocate the cause of secession and disunion, a large majority, as I firmly believe, still fondly cling to the Union, awaiting with deep anxiety the action of the North on the Compromise lately effected in Congress. Should this be disregarded and nullified by the citizens of the North, the southern people may become united; and then farewell, a long farewell, to our blessed Union. I am steadily in the face. This is the best means of avoiding it. I am deeply impressed with the conviction that the North neither sufficiently understands nor been steadily watching its approach for the last fifteen years. During that period I have often sounded the alarm; but my feeble warnings have been disregarded. I now solemnly declare, as the deliberate conviction of my judgment, that two things are ne-

ern slavery must be rebuked and put down by a strong, energetic, and enlightened public opinion. 2. The fugitive-slave law must be executed in its

letter and in its spirit. On each of these points I shall offer a few obser-

Those are greatly mistaken who suppose that the tempest which is now raging in the South has been raised solely by the acts or omissions of the present Congress. The minds of the southern people have been gradually prepared for this explosion by the events of the last fifteen years. Much and devotedly as they love the Union, many of them are now taught to believe that the peace of their own firesides and the security of their families cannot be preserved without separation from us. The crusade of the abolitionists against their domestic peace and security commenced in 1835. General Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in December of that year, speaks of it in the following emphatic language: "I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals, addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints and various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war." From that period the agitation in the North against southern slavery has been incessant, by means of the press, of State legislatures, State and county conventions, abolition lectures, and every other method which fanatics and demagogues could devise. The time of Congress has been wasted in violent harangues on the subject of slavery. Inflammatory appeals have been sent forth from this central point throughout the country, the inevitable effect of which has been to create geographical parties, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, and to estrange the northern and southern divisions of the Union from each other.

Before the Wilmot Proviso was interposed, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia had been the chief theme of agitation. Petitions for this purpose, by thousands, from men, women, and children, poured into Congress session after session. The rights and the wishes of the owners of slaves within the District were boldly disregarded. Slavery was denounced as a national sin and a national disgrace, which the laws of God and the laws of man ought to abolish, cost what it might. It mattered not to the fanaties that the abolition of slavery in the District would convert it into a citidel in the midst of two slaveholding States, from which the abolitionists could securely scatter arrows, firebrands, and death all around. It mattered not to them that the abolition of slavery in the District would be a violation of the spirit of the constitution and of the implied faith pledged to Maryland and Virginia, because the whole world knows that those States would never have ceded it to the Union, had they imagined it could ever be converted by Congress into a place from which their domestic peace and security might be assailed by fanatics and abolitionists. Nay, the abolitionists went even still further. They agitated for the purpose of abolishing slavery in the forts, arsenals, and navy yards which the southern States had eeded to the Union, under the constitution, for the protection and defence of the country.

Thus stood the question when the Wilmot Proviso was interposed to add fuel to the flame, and to ex-cite the southern people to madness. and to ex-speedily suppressed, yet what horrors might not in cite the southern people to madness.

most perfect freedom of intercourse prevails among all the States.

Here the blessings of free trade have been realized under the constitution of the United States, and, by the consent of all, to a greater extent than the world has ever witnessed. Our domestic tonnage and cap-ital employed in this trade exceed, beyond all com-at the proper time, California would have change parison, that employed in our trade, with all the rest her territorial into a State government, and would of the world. The mariner of Maine, after braving have come into the Union as naturally as a young the dangers of the passage around Cape Horn, finds man enters upon his civil rights at the age of twenty at last the consequence. himself at home in his own country, when entering one, producing scarcely a ripple upon the surface of

the world.

What consequences have resulted from the ProviBeaven seems to have bound these States together so! It placed the two divisions of the Union in hosby adamantine bonds of powerful interest. They are mutually dependent on each other—mutually necessary to each other's welfare. The numerous and powerful Commonwealths which are spread over the islatures were passing resolutions instructing their valley of the Mississippi must seek the markets of senators and requesting their representatives to vote the world for their productions, through the mouth for the Wilmot Proviso and for laws to abolish slaveof that father of rivers. A strong naval power is ne- ry in the District of Columbia, southern legislatures cessary to keep this channel always free in time of and conventions, prompted and sustained by the inwar, and an immense commercial marine is required dignant and united voice of the southern people, were to carry their productions to the markets of the world passing resolutions pledging themselves to measures and bring back their returns. The same remark ap- of resistance. The spirit of fanaticism was in the plies with almost equal force to the cotton-growing ascendant. To such a height had it mounted, that a and planting States on the Gulf of Mexico and on bill introduced into the House of Representatives by the Atlantic. Who is to supply this naval power Mr. Giddings, during the last session of the last and this commercial marine? The hardy and enter- Congress, authorizing the slaves in the District of prising sons of the North, whose home has always Columbia to vote on the question whether they thembeen on the mountain wave. Neither the pursuits selves should be free men, was defeated, on the monor the habits of the people of the western and the tion of my friend, Mr. Broadhead of this State, by

Thus stood the question when the present Congress rather than that of the representatives of a great and The common sufferings and common glories of the united people, assembled in the land of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson, to consult and act together as

It would be the extreme of dangerous infatuation to suppose that the Union was not then in serious danger. Had the Wilmot Proviso become a law, or had slavery been abolished in the District of Columbroken, jealous, and hostile fragments? What pat- bia, nothing short of a special interposition of Divine Providence could have prevented the secession of

It was from this great and glorious old Common-Rest assured that all the patriotic emotions of eveand the constitution, are shared by the southern peo-ple. What battle-field has not been illustrated by eration, and firmness of her people calculate her emi-

It was the vote in our State house of representatives, refusing to consider the instructing resolutions in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, which first cheered the heart of every patriot in the land. This was speedily tollowed by a vote of the House of Representatives at Washington, nailing the Wilmot Proviso itself to the table. And here I ought not to forget the great meeting held in Philadelphia, on the birthday of the Father of his Country, in favor of the Union, which gave a happy and irresistible impulse no alarmist; but a brave and wise man looks danger to public opinion throughout the State, and, I may add, throughout the Union.

The honor of the South has been saved by the Compromise. The Wilmot Proviso is forever dead. appreciates the danger. For my own part, I have and slavery will never be abolished in the District of Columbia whilst it continues to exist in Maryland. The receding storm in the South still continues to dash with violence, but it will gradually subside, should agitation cease in the North. All that is necessary for us to do is to execute the fugitive-slave cessary to preserve this Union from the most immilaw, and to let the southern people alone, suffering them to manage their own domestic concerns in their 1. Agitation in the North on the subject of south- own way. A Virginia farmer once asked me if there were two neighbors living together, what would I think if one of them should be eternally interfering in the domestic concerns of the other? Could they possibly live together in peace?

Without reference to the harmony and safety of the Union, what a blessing would this policy of non-interference be, not only to the slaves and the free negroes, but even to the cause of constitutional emanci-

Since the agitation commenced, the slave has been deprived of many privileges which he formerly enjoyed, because of the stern necessity thus imposed upon the master to provide for his personal safety and that of his family. The free negro, for the same overruling reason, is threatened with expulsion from the land of his nativity in the South; and there are strong indications in several of the northern States that they will refuse to afford him an asylum.

The cause of emancipation itself has greatly suffer-

ed by the agitation. If left to its constitutional and natural course, laws, ere this would most probably have existed for the gradual abolition of slavery in the States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. The current of public opinion was ranging strongly in that direction before the abolition excitement commenced, especially in Virginia. There a measure having directly in view the gradual abolition of slavery-offered, too, by the grandson of Thomas Jefferson-came within one vote, if my memory serves me, of passing the house of delegates. Throughout Virginia, as well as in the other three States. which I have mentioned, there was then a powerful influential, and growing party in favor of general emancipation, cheered on to exertion by the brightest hopes of success. What has now become of this party? It has gone; it is numbered with the things that have been. The interference of northern fanatics with the institution of slavery in the South has so excited and exasperated the people, that there is no man in that region bold enough to utter a sentiment in favor of gradual emancipation. The efforts of the abolitionists have long, very long, postponed the day of emancipation in these States. Throughout the grain-growing slave states, powerful causes were in operation, which must, before many years, have produced gradual emancipation. These have been counteracted by the violence and folly of the abolitionists. They have done infinite mischief. They have not only brought the Union into immnent peril but they have inflicted the greatest evils both on the slave and on the free negro-the avowed objects of their regard,

Let me, then, call upon your powerful and influential meeting, as they value the Union of these States, the greatest political blessing ever conferred by a bountiful Providence upon man—as they value the well being of the slave and free negro-as they value even the cause of regular and constitutional emancipation-to exert all their energies to put down the long-continued agitation in the North against slavery in the South, Is it unreasonable that the South should make this demand? The agitation has reached such a height that the Southern people feel their personal security to be involved. It has filled the minds of the slaves with vague notions of emancipation, and in the language of General Jackson -threatens " to stimulate them to insurrection and produce all the horrors of a servile war." Although President Polk was anxious to bring the war with the mean time be perpetrated! Many a mother now Mexico to an honorable conclusion with the least retires to rest at night under dreadful apprehensions possible delay. He deemed it highly probable that of what may befall herself and her family before the an appropriation by Congress of \$2,000,000, to be morning. Self-preservation is the first instinct of paid to the Mexican government immediately after nature; and therefore any state of society in which the the conclusion of peace, might essentially aid him in sword of Damocles is all the time suspended over the accomplishing this desirable object. He sent a message to this effect to Congress in August 1846; and whilst the bill granting the appropriation was pending before the House, Mr. Wilmot offered his famous their position, and do unto them as we would they Proviso as an amendment, which was carried by a should do unto us under similar circumstances. This majority of nineteen votes. This amendment, had it is the golden rule. It was under its benign influence even been proper in itself, was out of time and out of that our constitution of mutual compromise and conplace, because it had not then been ascertained whether we should acquire any territory from Mexico, and, in point of fact, the treaty of peace was not concluded until eighteen months thereafter. Besides, this brethren of the South with the harshest epithets, and Proviso, by defeating the appropriation, was calcula- imputing to them a high degree of moral guilt because

alavery has been entailed upon them by their forefa- | tion of their country, and who would, as jurora,

nes, that this is destined to become the principal every kind of prosecution which ingenuity could desubject of agitation at the next session of Congress, vise. and to take the place of the Wilmot Proviso. Its total repeal or its material modification will henceforward be the battle-ory of the agitators of the north. Wilmot Proviso and the passage of the fugitive-slave law are all that the South have obtained by the Compromise. They asked for the Missouri Compromise, which it is known that, for mandatory provision of the constitution, requiring would be the most just, equitable, and satisfactory are that the fugitive slaves who fly from service in one rangement of the territorial question between the North State to another shall be delivered up to their mas- and the South; but that has passed away. Califore ters. This provision is so explicit that he who runs may read. No commentary can present it in a stronger light than the plain words of the constitution. It and whether the Mexican law abolishing slavery he is a well known historical fact that without this pro- in force or not in the remainder of our territorial acvision the constitution itself could never have existed. | quinitions, does any man believe that alavery will ever How could this have been otherwise? Is it possible prevail among the Mormons in Utah, or among the for a moment to believe that the slave States would inhabitants of the snow-clad hills and mountain valhave formed a union with the free States if under it, leys of New Mexico? Besides, the slave trade has their slaves, by simply escaping across the boundary been abolished in the District of Columbia. What, freemen? This would have been to offer an irresist- South but this fugitive-slave law, passed to carry out cipitate themselves upon the North. The federal pensation which they have received for what they beconstitution, therefore, recognises in the clearest and lieve to be the great injuries they have sustained.

livered up to his master. But, say the agitators, the fugitive-slave law, er of his Country. If this be so, it may be asked, southern people were annually deprived of their p three individuals left in the whole State who could the Union will be in imminent danger. fect, and to substitute such officers, instead of the by the violence of the abolitionists, State magistrates, whose powers had been nullified

under the decision of the Supreme Court. It is worthy of remark that several of our northern

gitive slave law are, that it will promote kidnapping, of the said act for blocking up their harbor."

In regard to kidnapping, the fears of the agitators and inspiring it with irresistible energy. are altogether groundless. The law requires that the | 1 am not one of those who can ever consent to cale fugitive shall be taken before the judge or commiss- culate the value of the Union. Its benefits and its ioner. The master must there prove, to the satisfac- blessings are inestimable. God forbid that fanaticism tion of the magistrate, the identity of the fugitive- should ever apply a torch to this, the grandest and that he is the master's property and has escaped from most glorious temple which has ever been erected to his service. Now, I ask, would a kidnapper ever undertake such a task? Would be suborn witnesses the friends of human liberty throughout the world to commit perjury, and expose himself to detection would forever deplore the irreparable loss of our exbefore the judge or commissioner, and in presence of ample to the nations, this catastrophe would be the the Argus eyes of a non-slaveholding community, prolific source of evils to all the States-North, South, whose feelings will always be in favor of the slave ! East, and West-from the enumeration of which my No; never. The kidnapper seizes his victim in the mind respils with horror, silence of the night, or in a remote and obscure place,

and so it is under the present law, A fugitive from len the human race. labor is placed upon the very same footing under the It is not every wrong-nay, it is not every griev. constitution with a fugitive from justice. Does a man, ous wrong-which can justify or even palliate such a charged with the commission of a crime in Maryland, fearful alternative. In this age, and in this country, fly into Pennsylvania? He is delivered up, upon there is an incessant flux and reflux of public opin-proper evidence, to the authorities of the State from ion. Subjects which but a few years ago excited the which he fled, there to stand his trial. He has no right to demand a trial by jury in Pennsylvania. Nay, more: under our extradition treaties with foreign power of Mr. Burke, they are "volcances burnt out; and ers, does a man charged with a crime committed in on the lava, and ashes, and equalid scoris of old erop-England or France fly to the United States? He is tions grow the peaceful clive, the cheering vine, and delivered up to the proper authorities of the country the sustaining corn." from which he fled, without a trial by jury in this country. Precisely the same is the case in regard to mestic slavery in the South, like everything human, a fugitive from labor. Upon satisfactory proof, he is delivered up without a trial by jury. In the constitution he is placed upon the very same footing with fugitives from justice from other States; and by treaty he is placed upon the very same footing with fugitives from justice from foreign countries. Surely the But if, in the midst of such a temporary excitement, and impart new and healthful life and vigor to the body politic.

But if, in the midst of such a temporary excitement, and impart new and healthful life and vigor to the body politic. But if, in the midst of such a temporary excitement, fugitive slave is not entitled to superior privileges over the free white man. When he returns to the State from which he has escaped, he is there entitled to a trial by jury, for the purpose of deciding whether he is a free man. I believe every slave State has made provision by law for such a trial without expense, upon the petition of the slave; and we have heard it announced from the highest authority in the Senate of the United States, that such trials are always conducted in mersy, and with a rigid regard to the rights of the slave.

Why should an act of Congress cast such a reflection upon the judicial tribunals of a sister State as to say they shall not be trusted with the trial of the question whether an individual is entitled to his freed-

question whether an individual is entitled to his freed-

there I and this, too, with a knowledge that, the con- cue a fugitive slave from servitude against the clearsequences of these assaults must be to place in peril est testimony, thinking at the same time they were their personal safety, and that of all they hold most doing God's service. The excited condition of pubdear on earth. I repeat that this constant agitation lie feeling in many portions of the North would diamust be arrested by the firm determination and resolute action of the vast majority of the people of the North, who are known to disapprove it, or the sacrifice of our glorious Union may and probably will be at last the consequence.

I shall proceed to present to you some views upon would know that should he fail to obtain a verdict the subject of the much-misrepresented fugitive-slave this would be his ruin. He would then be persecuted w. It is now evident, from all the signs of the with actions of slander, of false imprisonment, and

assed to carry into execution a plain, clear, and one, I was always willing to concede, believing this which separates them, would acquire all the rights of then, of the Compromise practically remains for the able temptation to all the slaves of the South to pre- a clear constitutional provision ? It is the only come most emphatic terms the property in slaves, and protects this property by prohibiting any State into pealed, essentially modified, or nullified? Hefore its which a slave might escape from discharging him passage the constitution had become, in regard to fue from slavery, and by requiring that he shall be degitive slaves, almost a dead letter. It is a notorious fact that all along the border which separates the free from the slave States, every facility was afforded f framed for the very purpose of carrying into effect the escape of slaves from their masters. If they could an express provision of the constitution, is uself un-constitutional. I shall not stop to argue such a point at length, deeming this to be wholly unnecessary. The law, in every one of its essential provisions, is such service or labor may be due," In many instances the very same law which was passed in February. the master, or his agent who pursued them, was income fresh from the convention which framed the men could be found bold enough to incur the hazard federal constitution, and was approved by the Path- of such a dangerous undertaking. In this manner the whence the necessity of passing the present law !- erty, guarantied to them by the constitution, to the Why not rest upon the act of 1793? This question amount of hundreds of thousand of dollars. The is easily answered. The act of 1793 had intrusted constitution was nullified, and this law was passed its own execution, not only to the judges of the cir- for the protection of their constitutional rights. Will cuit and district courts of the United States, but to they tamely surrender it? Let the voice which speaks all the State magistrates of any county, city, or in tones of thunder from the united South answer this town corporate. The decision of the Supreme court question. They will at last I trust and believe subof the United States in the case of Prigg rs. the Com- mit to all the provisions of the Compromise, provided monwealth of Pennsylvania deprived these State the fugitive slave law he faithfully executed in the magistrates of the power of acting under the law. North; but they will go no further. All the resoluof Pennsylvania for an example. There were but this language. Future aggressions must gease, or

judicially execute the provisions of the act of 1793- Let us, then, resolve to put down agitation at the the circuit judge and two district judges. Two of North on the slave question by the force of enlights these judges reside in Philadelphia, and one of them ened public opinion, and faithfully execute the proviin Pittsburg-a distance of more than three hundred sions of the fugitive-slave law. Should this be done, miles apart. It is manifest, therefore, that the law it will eventually extinguish geographical parties in many-indeed, in most-cases could not have -so dangerous to the Union, and so much dreaded been executed, for want of officers near at hand. It by the Father of his Country-which have sprung thus became absolutely necessary for Congress to into existence. It will ameliorate the condition of provide United States officers to take the place of the the slaves by enabling their masters to remove the re-State magistrates who had been superseded. With- strictions imposed upon them in self-defence since out this, a constitutional right would have existed the commencement of the present troubles, and will with no adequate means of enforcing it. The fugi-tive-slave bill was passed chiefly to remedy this de-ancipation which has in several States been arrested

The Union cannot long endure if it he bound together only by paper bonds. It can be firmly comen-ted alone by the affections of the people of the differe legislatures, availing themselves of the decision of ent States for each other. Would to Heaven that the the Supreme Court, and under the deep excitement spirit of mutual forhearance and brotherly love which produced by the agitation of the Wilmot Proviso, presided at its birth could once more be restored to passed laws imposing obstacles to the execution of bless the land! Upon opening a volume a few days the provisions of the constitution for the restoration of since, my eyes caught a resolution of a convention of fugitive slaves. I am sorry, very sorry, to state that the counties of Maryland, assembled at Anapolis, in Pennsylvania is among the number. By our act of June, 1774, in consequence of the passage by the 3d March, even the use of our public jails is denied British Parliament of the Boston port bill, which profor the safe custody of the fugitive; and the jailer vided for opening a subscription " in the several couns who shall offend against this provision is deprived of ties of the province for an immediate collection for his office, and is punishable with a heavy fine and a the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Boston, disqualification ever again to hold a similar office! | now cruelly deprived of the means of procuring sub-The two principal objections urged against the fu- sistence for themselves and families by the operation and that it does not provide a trial by jury for the fu- that the spirit of fraternal affection which dictated this gitive in the State to which he has escaped. The very noble resolution, and which actuated all the conduct same reasons may be urged with equal force against of our revolutionary fathers, might return to bless and the act of 1793; and yet it existed for more than to reanimate the bosoms of their descendants! This half a century without encountering any such ob- would render our Union indissoluble. It would be the living soul infusing itself into the constitution,

political freedom on the face of the earth! While

Would any or all of the injuries which the South and hurries him away. He does not expose himself have suffered, or which they suppose they have suffered, from the agitation at the North, and from the nate object of his rapacity before a commissioner or a Compromise, justify a resort to the last dread extremining. Indeed, I have no recollection of having heard ity of dissolving the Union? I believe not; and after the contract of the last dread extrements. or read of a case in which a freeman was kidnapped ter the sober, second thought, the patriotic people of under the forms of law during the whole period of the South will, I have no doubt, by a large majority, more than half a century since the act of 1793 was arrive at the same conclusion, For such causes they will never forfeit all the innumerable blessings But it is objected to the law that the fugitive is not of the Union, and subject the country and the lovers allowed a trial by jury in the State to which he has of rational freedom throughout the world to the most escaped. So it has always been under the act of 1793, astounding political calamity which has ever befal

om under the laws of the State from which he has fled?

But to allow the fugitive slave a trial by jury in the State where he is found would in many instances completely nullify the provisions of the constitution.

There are many, I fear very many, in the northern States who place their conscience above the constitu- within the bar, and he had accepted the invitation.